Equal Rights

VOL. XIX. No. 30
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY
AUGUST 26, 1933

AUG 25 1933
PERIODICAL DIVISION

Anna Lenah Elgström of Sweden, distinguished writer and feminist, in her summer home in the Skaergaarden. Mrs. Elgström has been a guest at the National Woman's Party Headquarters in Washington during the past week.

Equal Rights

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of the
National Woman's Party
Capitol Hill,
Washington, D. C.
Phone, Atlantic 1210
Published Weekly
at 19 West Chase Street,
Baltimore, Md.
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Entered as second-class matter at Postoffice, Baltimore, Md., under Act March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $2.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $2.50

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 1]
[House Joint Resolution Number 1]

Introduced in the Senate March 10, 1933, by SENATOR JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Delaware.

Introduced in the House March 9, 1933, by REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS LUDLOW, Indiana.

Mark Your Calendar

NOVEMBER 4 and 5, 1933, are dates that should go down in history as milestones on the long road which women are traveling toward complete emancipation.

These two days have been set apart for the Biennial Convention of the National Woman's Party, which will be held in Wilmington, Delaware.

The Conference of Workers held in Washington last May was one of the most brilliant and successful gatherings, as regards both attendance and program, ever held under Party auspices. It is hoped that the enthusiasm and confidence which it aroused will be doubled and trebled at the coming Biennial, and that distant as well as nearby States will send large and representative delegations.

Plans for the two-day program are already under way. Feminists of national and international fame are to be among the speakers. The headquarters will be established at the Hotel Dupont. Owing to the fact that the Biennial dates fall on a Saturday and Sunday, reduced week-end railroad rates will be available.

Mark off November 4 and 5 on your calendar and decide to let nothing keep you from going to Wilmington at that time. Interest your friends in the Biennial. No genuine believer in Equal Rights can afford to miss it.

Our Immediate Problem

WE CANNOT too strongly impress upon our members the tremendous importance of taking an immediate and active part in carrying out the Congressional program of the Party as outlined in the August 5 number of EQUAL RIGHTS.

No great cause has ever been won by wishing. If we could take a census of all the people in this country, men and women alike, who believe in Equal Rights, we should probably be astounded at the number. Our platform contains but one plank, justice, a concept and ideal that fundamentally everybody believes in and wants to have realized to the fullest possible extent.

When Thomas Jefferson, for instance, declared it to be self-evident that "all men are created equal," we must assume that he meant to include women. When the framers of the Constitution gave "to establish justice" as one of the reasons why the people ordained this instrument as the basic law of the land, we cannot believe that their definition of "people" failed to include women or that their concept of "justice" excluded them. We should be distrustful indeed if we did not think that by and large the members of the human family are well-intentioned and want to deal fairly and honorably with one another.

Among those whom it is most important to win over to the Woman's Party viewpoint are our Senators and Representatives in Congress. Not all, for some of them are among our most loyal supporters. But those who are opposed or on the fence must be persuaded that there can be no real justice in law or in life until women attain complete equality with men.

This is our great, immediate problem. And it cannot be solved by thought waves, wishes (no matter how ardent) or good intentions. The only possible solution lies in prompt and resolute action. The Congressional program of the Party contains three measures of utmost importance: The Equal Rights Amendment, the Equal Rights Reservation with regard to the adherence of the United States to the World Court, and the Equal Rights Nationality Bill. To become law, the Amendment and the Equal Rights Nationality Bill must be passed by both House and Senate; the Equal Rights Reservation is before the Senate only. But the best course is to approach members of both houses in regard to all three measures. Members of the House should know of the interest in the Reservation, even though they do not vote upon it.

Congress is not now in session. Senators and Representatives, many of whom have returned to their homes, have more leisure, more time to listen, more time to weigh and consider arguments, than when engulfed in a maelstrom of legislative business in Washington. See them. Write them. Arrange meetings and invite them and their constituents so that when Congress reconvenes an overwhelming tide for Equal Rights will set in toward Washington from all sections of the country.

The problem is simple. The cause is a righteous one and at the same time one of the most inspiring that confronts the world today. The welfare of the race is at stake since it is as bad that men should have too much power as that women should have too little. Let every women do her part and success is inevitable.

Swedish Feminist Visits Headquarters

By Anita Pollitzer,
Vice-Chairman of the National Woman's Party

ANNA LENAH ELGSTRÖM, author, lecturer, journalist, and the only woman literary critic on a daily paper in her country, has been the guest of Woman's Party Headquarters this week. Mrs. Elgström is in America on a Fellowship from the American Scandinavian Foundation, in order to get material for a book on modern American literature for the Swedish Schools. Her visit to headquarters grew out of a meeting with Mrs. Hilles at the National Council meeting in Chicago a few weeks ago.

Mrs. Elgström is deeply interested in the woman movement and the labor movement, and so during her visit, in addition to meeting with women, calling on Mrs. Roosevelt, a conference with Miss Perkins, she attended hearings on the Industrial Codes and interviewed labor leaders.

Present-day economic discriminations in Sweden, according to Mrs. Elgström, furnish a striking parallel to events in our country:

"After the vote was won in Sweden in 1921, most suffragists thought that everything had been won. They disbanded their organization with 70,000 members, who had been ready to go out and work and speak. At that time, I was busy with my young children and writing books, but I was amongst those who warned them not to disband their organization. I felt that women should stand together for Equal Rights with men in all fields, for economic equality, for social rights and responsibilities equal to men. In 1921, women thought that all was lovely in the garden. Now we find that women were being sabotaged the whole time. The institutions like the railroads and the telegraph that are private in your own country are public in ours. However, men are in the high posts, and women are the clerks, and the census has proved that women were receiving less wages and were having longer hours all the time.

"The fact that interests me most in connection with the woman movement is that women have a right to expand their own lives as human beings just as men have. There is a great deal of muddle-headed thinking about women's problems, about sex. I do not think that one should only think of women's rights, but of women's responsibility for society, and I include women equally with men in that society. I take my stand with the Open Door International, the point of view with which the Woman's Party is in accord— women must have economic independence equal to men—not superior, not inferior—but equal. In all international matters, I feel that women of the world must work together in order to get results for women and in order to keep the gains that we make."

In Sweden, today, Mrs. Elgström says, many of the same discriminations exist that confront women in America. In Sweden, all women teachers, from those in the university down, are paid approximately $250 to $500 less than men for the same work. There is a marked tendency to dismiss married women from private employment. In Sweden, too, the slogan of "only one job for husband and wife" is become increasingly popular. The Open Door International in Sweden is opposing this policy, which practically always results in the dismissal of women, just as the National Woman's Party is opposing it in this country.

"In Sweden," Mrs. Elgström continued, "the woman movement has had two phases. Women concentrated at first on women's rights and women's responsibilities. The great leader of this period was Frederika Bremer, a Swedish woman, who was a friend of Lucy Stone and Lucretia Mott. The woman movement in Sweden in its second phase, that is, in the storm and stress of the industrial age, emphasized the fact that women should be allowed to earn their own bread. Women cannot give to society something new if they have no economic independence. Today, I think that women sometimes lose that far-away look that Fredrika Bremer had, and in our time Ellen Key."

Mrs. Elgström pointed out that the Swedish marriage law enacted in 1924 put women on an equal footing with men in regard to support and responsibility for the family. Women are liable for support, and the contributions of both husband and wife are recognized. Alimony is paid by either husband or wife.

A fact which is true far too often, Mrs. Elgström comments, is that women do not keep on working as men do—this she considers is due in large measure to the fact that they do not have such interesting work to do, and do not feel that they have a future before them. That women can make for themselves a future equally as rich as men and that women with real pursuits, with real occupations, can have just as full a life as men, and opportunities as great, are her firm convictions.

Open Door International Opposes Discriminations

THE National Woman's Party has appointed Emily Smith as its representative to the third convention of the Open Door International at Prague. Mrs. Smith is a member of the International Relations Committee and has been associated with the work in Geneva for the past two years. The Open Door International has headquarters at Geneva and has as its primary object the economic emancipation of the woman worker. It follows closely all legislation of the International Labor Office at Geneva. Chrystal MacMillan of England is president. The following resolution has just been passed by the Open Door International:

WOMEN AND OLD AGE INVALIDITY INSURANCE

A. The Open Door International expresses its appreciation of the fact that the Draft Conventions Invalidity and Old-Age Insurance adopted at the 17th Session of the International Labor Conference, 1933, make it necessary so far as they refer to non-contributory pensions, that such pensions shall be equal for men and women.

B. The Open Door International, while appreciating the action of the International Labor Conference in rejecting proposals

(a) that women should receive old-age pensions at a lower age than men (Article 16), and

(b) that the conditions for old-age and invalidity contributory pensions should vary with sex (O. A. Article 18: I. Article 19),

expresses profound dissatisfaction that the International Conference

(c) adopted these conventions which do not seem to ensure equality of treatment for men and women, and

(d) adopted a Recommendation which does not even recommend such equality.

C. The Open Door International points out

(i) that these conventions provide that benefits may vary (inter alia) with "the amount of the contributions paid," and do not at the same time require men and women to pay equal contributions, and would therefore seem to allow a ratifying State to continue or even to introduce an unjust system of lower contributions and lower benefits to women;

(ii) that these conventions permit a ratifying State to forbid a married woman to continue in insurance as a voluntary contributor;

(iii) that these conventions fail to make clear that a married woman

should have an equal right with others to appeal in her own person and not through her husband;

(iv) that these conventions fail to ensure that the "essential needs" of a woman are to be taken to be not less than those of a man.

D. Moreover the Open Door International declares that it is better to have no convention at all than one which sacrifices the woman for the support of countries which wish to retain or to introduce legislation putting women at a disadvantage, since this is to make a fetish of the mere fact that one more convention has been adopted, instead of treating as essentials equality and justice, on which alone any international legislation should be based.

Vote Urged for Cuban Women

THE National Woman's Party has received the following cable from the Alianza Nacional Feminista, feminist organization of Cuba:

"We beg you cable immediately to Ambassador Welles vouching for integral vote for the Cuban women in the name of all American Suffragist Associations and the International Feminist Alliance now in convention at Chicago, as he will bring greater pressure and positive success."

In reponse the Woman's Party, through its chairman, Florence Bayard Hilles, sent the following message:

"Ambassador Sumner Wells,
"Havana, Cuba.

"American women greatly desire political benefits which they enjoy to be shared by women of all American republics.

"We earnestly beg you in your negotiations on behalf of Cuba to advocate equal suffrage for Cuban women as a measure of justice, as well as a recognition of their desire to assist in the restoration of their country.

"We hope that you will use your great influence to the end that full and complete suffrage for women on the same terms as men will be granted.

"FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES,
"National Chairman."

Doris Stevens of New York, chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, sent the following cablegram to Ambassador Welles:

"Ambassador Sumner Welles,
"Havana, Cuba.

"Leading organizations of Cuban women are our colleagues in Latin American work, authorized by the Sixth Pan-American Conference to raise the position of women. They have repeatedly in recent years begged me as United States representative on and chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, created by that conference, to appeal to my government to help them in meeting rebuffs by their own government when they sought to improve the position of women in Cuba. Many of us wanted to help but did not feel free to do so, lest such action might embarrass relations between Cuba and our government, and therefore have not responded.

"Now that you are conducting friendly negotiations with both Cuban Government and opposition, implore you most earnestly to include in any formula made to both sides either formally or informally the recommendation that Cuban women be granted political power on same terms as men. Believe improved position of women is always fundamental factor in permanent stabilization in any country. Warmest congratulations on your endeavors. "DORIS STEVENS."

The Problem of Unequal Wages

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKENRIDGE is Professor of Public Welfare Administration at the University of Chicago and is the author of a recently published monograph, entitled "Women in the Twentieth Century: Their Political, Social and Economic Activities," which has attracted widespread attention.

It will be remembered that within the present twelve-month the city of Chicago withheld for a period of many months the pay due its public school teachers. It was also in Chicago that Dr. John Guy Fowlkes of the University of Wisconsin, in addressing the National Education Association, advocated increasing the supply of superior male teachers and asserted that it would be necessary "to pay them more than the same quality women teachers."

Dr. Breckenridge's prominence as a writer and educator, her residence in Chicago, and the extensive research that must have preceded the preparation of her monograph, are facts that should entitle her when discussing a subject like "The Problem of Unequal Wages" to a respectful hearing. We are therefore reprinting in full an article so entitled which appeared recently in *The Chicago Daily News*.

"The enactment of the minimum wage laws by great industrial States and the inauguration of the President's industrial reconstruction program," Dr. Breckenridge writes, "will bring to the front again the question of the relation between men's wages and women's wages. This subject has already been called to the attention of Chicago leaders by distinguished representatives of the men at the National Education Association. When the statement was made that if the schools were to have superior men they must pay men more than they paid women. This statement made a great impression upon some readers at the moment at which the teachers of the Chicago schools, so largely women, have been put under cruel pressure by business influences to acquiesce in a reduction of the wage scale.

"The suggestion is made that the influence of woman teachers upon boys is to render them effeminate, less than fully vigorous in their attack upon the problems of life, and generally lacking in courage and in those virtues supposed to be peculiarly characteristic of the male sex.

"That calls to mind an extremely interesting letter from Rudyard Kipling published in *The Daily News* a number of years ago. The period since its publication is in fact so long that its reprinting at this time seems not an inappropriate action. It read:

> I heard the story of a regiment that had recovered some of its men mutilated by the Hun. No detail was slurred, and the tale ended:
>
> "The Germans did that to frighten us, sir."
>
> "What happened next?" I asked.
>
> The voice told me what had happened, and it was not at all a pleasant happening for the Hun. Yet the same man, a minute afterward, carefully used a watered-down euphemism for an elemental fact which an Englishman, or for that matter an Englishwoman, would have got at in one word. The Americans were inclined this way a generation ago, because even then they were generally educated by women, and women's share in their education has increased since. They deliver themselves of whole sentences, through which one can almost see the keen, tense, "uplifting" womankind, who gave the entire virile sentiment its funnily feminine cloak.
>
> But of all creatures, the woman-taught man is quite the most unprofitable to irritate or bully. In addition to normal wrath his acquired delicacy is outraged and he finds himself at white hot feud with the system which makes such things possible. Then he goes to the limit and beyond, and is as impertinent as a woman afterward.
>
> Like a woman, too, he cleans up behind him with acids and disinfectants.
>
> This, as the boy said when he showed up a list of the kings of Israel for his English essay, is not all my own idea, but arose long ago out of a talk with that wise philosopher, Mark Twain.

(*The Daily News*, Aug. 17, 1918.)

"In addition to this statement, however, it is necessary to examine the bases of wage determination and the question may well be raised as to whether or not the type of man whose value is evidenced not by his contribution to the field of learning to which he has devoted himself and not by his success as a teacher, but by the relative size of his check as compared with those assigned to woman teachers, would contribute just those values in perception, in adaptability, in spiritual appreciation, in intellectual integrity, to which the young of the coming generation have a claim and of which both young and old have such need.

"It is interesting to women to notice with what little sense of shame some men are willing to reveal their total lack of the essentials of what, under the old terminology, would have been characterized as those of the gentleman. Teachers who were secured by any such device as that suggested by the speaker to the National Education Association might be scholars. They would certainly not be gentlemen."

Shall America Go Nazi?

IT would be difficult to find a better illustration of the hard, unreasoning and unreasonable attitude of some men toward the woman who earns her own living than the following letter written by President Samuel Harden Church of the Carnegie Institute of Technology which appeared in the New York *Times* of August 3 under the caption, "White Collar Women."

"To the Editor of The New York Times:

"Now that President Roosevelt's happy days are being translated from promise to performance, the young men of our country are giving voice to a persistent complaint that in the restoration of work there is no place for them because the women have usurped all, or nearly all, of the white-collar jobs. The graduates of our colleges unite in saying that unless they have prepared themselves for professional work their applications for employment are almost invariably met with the statement that none but women are hired for such and such duties; and these young men come from the schools only to find themselves excluded not from a closed shop but from a closed world.

"Before the World War women's work was limited in the main to certain fixed channels — department stores, teaching, libraries, household duties—but when the bugle called our men into the army the women necessarily took their places, and still hold them! Perhaps that is one of the penalties of war to warn us against war in the future. They came by the thousands into railroad and industrial offices; indeed, they worked in machine shops and kept the tracks in repair. When the armies came home there was a partial readjustment of the matter. The heavy work was taken over again by the men, and many of the women relinquished their tasks in other fields to their brothers, fiancès and husbands.

"But this was only for a time; and now the women are pushing the men out of the whole range of white-collar jobs. They have almost entirely usurped the stenographic and typewriting occupations; they are going with more and more frequency into the tellers' cages in the banks; they have taken over the work of cashiers and bookkeepers in hotels and apartment houses; they are beginning to operate the quotation boards in the brokers' offices; and the telephone exchanges are their exclusive preserve.

"A fair division of all this vast field of useful service between the men and the women would be a good thing for the country; but it is not a good thing for the country to have the women take it all. One reason for giving the women a preference, which is fast growing into a monopoly, is the fact that they work for less money than is required for a man when he is the head of a family. But the tragedy of this is that the man has no work at all—the women have crowded him out of his birthright.

"The social danger of hiring women exclusively for these many fields of work is not a menace of the future. It is here now. It threatens the contentment and prosperity of the nation. The doors of a decent livelihood in all these occupations are already closed on the young men of this country. And now that business is reviving, is not this the moment to ask that they be reopened? Wages are to be increased regardless of sex, so that women can no longer offer their employers the advantage of a lower cost for their services.

"The young men who would marry and become the fathers of our American families should be enabled to do so under the new deal. As an act of justice to them, and with the sound interests of the nation concerned in the proper solution of this question, it seems fair to suggest that the new employments and their future replacements should be filled on a basis of 75 per cent. of men and 25 per cent. of women until a fair balance between the sexes shall have been established.

(Signed) "SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH.
"Pittsburgh, Pa., July 28, 1933."

The day after the letter appeared, *The Times* expressed itself editorially under the caption, "Women 'Capture' Jobs?" as follows:

"President Samuel Harden Church of Carnegie Tech in a letter on this page yesterday urged that in filling future jobs women shall be held down to a quota of 25 per cent. He argues that our present unemployment is largely due to the inrush of women into men's occupations since the war, particularly in the white collar trades. He believes in a fair division of jobs between men and women, but it is a bad thing for the country to have the women 'take it all'.

"Have the women taken it all since the war? In the year 1910 in every 1,000 occupied persons there were 788 men and 212 women. In the year 1930 there were 780 men and 220 women. In the course of twenty years in every 1,000 jobs the women have "taken away" eight jobs from the men. This would be 8,000 jobs captured in a million. It would be less than 100,000 jobs in 12,000,000, which is about the maximum of our recent unemployment. Less than 1 per cent. of the vanished jobs have been taken away by the women. How can this explain the other 99 per cent?

"When President Church would limit women to 25 per cent. of all the jobs he is being more generous to them than they have been to themselves. In 1930 women had only 22 per cent. of all the jobs."

And on the following day, *The Times* under caption "Why Women Work," published a reply to Dr. Church by Isabel E. Weaver in which she reminds him that women must eat, too:

"To the Editor of The New York Times:

"After reading Dr. Samuel Harden Church's letter on the employment of 'white-collar women' I find myself reflecting on the old conclusion that the force of an objection lies in the strength of the alternative offered. Dr. Church voices his objections at length, but I fail to find in his letter any alternative solution to the problem which is occupying the minds of hundreds of thousands of women in this country today—the grim economic problem of keeping out of a breadline.

"It would be difficult to convince the woman worker out of employment at the present time that she enjoys the privilege of preferential employment in a closed world from which the men find themselves, as Dr. Church states, 'excluded'. Nor indeed is it a fact. On the contrary, the fields of employment formerly open almost exclusively to women are being narrowed down relentlessly by forces over which we have no control, and their number is now infinitesimally small compared with those lines of gainful occupation filled exclusively by men.

"In the field of domestic service a vast army of women find themselves unable to find employment owing in large measure to the ever-increasing influx of mechanical labor-saving devices.

"In the field of teaching and also in that of nursing (that most feminine of occupations) colleges and training schools all over the country have been turning out graduates for years in an unceasing stream, consequently the country is oversupplied with trained workers far beyond its capacity to employ them.

"In the telephone service the same condition exists owing to the introduction of the dial system, the female staffs formerly employed under the old system having been enormously reduced.

"In the professions, in law, in medicine, in architecture, for a woman to make good is almost as hard as for a camel to pass through a needle's eye. Opportunity in music is now practically impossible to find, owing in a large degree to the general acceptance of the radio and its synthetic music, and in the chorus and in other fields of the theatrical profession the supply of feminine talent daily besieging the employment agencies speaks for itself.

"The spectre of unemployment stalks ahead of man and woman alike. The majority of women who work for a living are pressed thereto by hard economic necessity. They do not work for the love of it nor to keep a man out of a job. They work because they have to in order to eat and live. They work for less money not because they want to, nor because they earn less, but because it is all they can get. If a woman supports a family—and many thousands do—she does not get more wages because she is a family breadwinner, but rather less because she is a woman.

"In these conditions, with the field of domestic service heavily reduced, with those of nursing and teaching admittedly a hard prospect for years to come, with the other professions still ridden with an almost unsurmountable prejudice, what would Dr. Church have us do? If the white-collar fields of employment are also to be closed to us, even in part, what alternatives does he offer to the white-collar women toward the solution of this problem of earning a living and providing for a future? Would he have hundreds of thousands of intelligent, able-bodied women kept in idleness and supported by the State, or what other alternative has he in mind? Will he not tell us?"

(Signed) "ISABEL E. WEAVER.
"New York, August 3, 1933."

Women, Take Heed!

HITLERISM is a world-wide menace to sex equality according to a writer in *Opportunity,* organ of the National Association of Women Civil Service Servants of Great Britain.

Among other things, this writer contends that the National-Socialist Party in Germany "is entirely out of sympathy with any attempt at co-operation between men and women, other than the primitive co-operation in maintaining the home. Women, therefore, are to be relegated to home duties, and a campaign is already in progress for putting this theory into practice. Women have been and are being dismissed from responsible positions in the Civil Service, regardless of the fact that they may have no alternative means of livelihood. So far, there seem to have been fewer dismissals among women in the lower ranks; but it seems probable that the same policy will eventually be extended to them. In the industrial sphere, it is reported that pressure is being brought to bear upon women, especially if they are married, to induce them to resign their positions voluntarily. With this spirit abroad, it is obvious that women applying for posts can have little or no chance of selection in competition with men; while in some districts they are even denied unemployment pay, on the ground that the men's unemployment pay is sufficient, with their war pensions, for the support of their families.

"It is easy to see how this attitude towards women appeals to a certain type of man, too selfish to condemn it as unjust and too short-sighted to realize that it cannot ultimately be of any advantage either to himself or to his country. The pressure of unemployment, and the political and financial upheavals which have convulsed Germany since the war, may well have produced this mentality in men to whom it would normally be abhorrent. What is much more perplexing and disturbing is the fact, which seems to be established beyond reasonable possibility of doubt, that there are educated German women who publicly defend the Nazi persecution of their sex, and who seek to prove, by articles in the press, that women are not fit to take any part in political or public life. The plight and the prospects of the professional woman in Germany today are indeed serious to the point of tragedy.

"If this attitude towards women were confined to Germany, it would call forth our sympathy for the victims, but would not otherwise concern us. Unfortunately, signs are not wanting that the same spirit is latent in other parts of the world, not excluding our own country. We do not suggest that the wholesale policy adopted in Germany is very likely to be imitated here. Our national character is in many ways different from that of the Germans, and our history since the war has been tranquil in comparison with theirs. Even if this country were to see a revolution leading to a dictatorship, we do not believe that these would follow the German model. But without any revolution or any dictatorship, there are already unmistakable signs of a comparatively mild but insidious attack upon the right of women to earn their own living in free and equal competition with men. In Great Britain women are not being discharged from key positions in the civil service; but every woman civil servant knows how difficult it is for women ever to attain to such positions. Prejudice showing itself in failure to promote is more difficult to expose than prejudice manifested in actual dismissal, and there is the further difficulty that it is sometimes half-unconscious. Nevertheless it is there, expressing the unspoken conviction that only an exceptional woman is entitled to the same advancement as an ordinarily able man.

"Outside the civil service, the post-war period has been marked by a greatly intensified attack upon the right of the married woman to earn her own living in paid employment. Local education authorities and other public bodies have been tending more and more to impose marriage bars upon the women in their service, and private employers have in some cases followed suit. A glaring example of this tendency is to be found in the recent decision of the University of Liverpool not only to impose a marriage bar upon its women lecturers, but to make it apply retrospectively to a woman whose contract of service contained no hint of any such restriction. There can be little doubt that this retrograde movement is greatly helped by the existence of the marriage bar in the case of women civil servants, for employers who wish to discriminate against married women can plead that in so doing they are bringing their conditions into conformity with civil service practice.

"This attitude on the part of employers, deplorable as it is, does not represent the whole extent of the evil. A study of the correspondence columns of any daily paper over a period of a few months reveals the existence of a section of public opinion which is bitterly hostile to the employment of married women in any but the most menial capacity. It reveals also something even more serious; namely, that the attack on married women is in the nature of a trial of strength which, if successful, will be followed by a similar attack upon all women workers. A married woman, it appears, must be excluded

from employment because she has a husband to support her. He may not be able to afford the standard of life which their joint earnings could provide, but that is of no moment: he can keep her from starvation, and she must ask no more. The underlying assumption is that the woman is entitled to maintenance only; a man, on the other hand, may legitimately rise as far above the level of bare subsistence as his earning power will take him.

"Logically, there is no difference in this matter between a married and a single woman. If the one needs no more than bare maintenance, neither does the other. Already there is a demand, in irresponsible quarters, that the labor market, including the field of entry to the civil service, should be closed to so-called "pin-money girls." This phrase appears to mean all women who are not entirely and necessarily dependent upon their own earnings. An able-bodied and able-minded daughter is, according to these critics, to be forced into the humiliating agony of living on her parents, who may already have made great sacrifices to equip her to be self-supporting, and the arbiter of her need is to be not herself or her parents, but the potential employer or the State.

"This is but idle talk, to be sure; but it may be the straw which shows the direction of the wind. The problem of unemployment is acute, and the temptation to look for a solution at the expense of the women is to some minds irresistible. There is only one sure and certain safeguard; women form the majority of the population, and they must make it abundantly clear that no such policy will be tolerated by the public opinion which they virtually control. Here, unfortunately, is the danger. In England, as in Germany, there are women who acquiesce in the view that in the struggle for existence it is fitting that woman should always give place to man. These women must be educated to realize that their attitude, far from being public-spirited and unselfish, as they no doubt suppose, is entirely hostile to the permanent interests of society, which require the full and free co-operation of men and women on a basis of complete equality.

"We call upon our own members, pledged to the ideal of equality, to take their full share in strengthening public opnion to cast out the retrograde notions which, if allowed to grow unchecked, will undo all that has so far been achieved in the long and weary fight for women's emancipation."

Press Comment

Mrs. Roosevelt For Equal Pay

The Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass., August 11, 1933.

WASHINGTON, August 11. — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is an advocate of the general rule of equal pay for men and women who do equal work. She declared her views on the subject today when it was called to her attention that ten temporary industrial codes set a lower minimum wage for women than for men. The President's wife said she had no actual right to interfere in the code-making, but explained that her great interest in social conditions is leading her to discuss women workers' welfare with both Brig.-Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, recovery administrator, and Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

Attention was called to the fact that these differences were subject to adjustment when the various codes come up for hearing and that the Labor Advisory Committee favors equal minimum wage rates for men and women. Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out that it is up to the public to see that wages do not stay at the minimum anyway.

Strong objection has been voiced by the National Woman's Party to the discriminations in hours, wages and other conditions now in force.

The women commended the provision in the steel code that "there shall not be any discriminations against any employes because of race, sex or creed," but deprecated the executive order putting into effect a rayon and silk dyeing code with a wage of 35 cents an hour for women and 45 cents an hour for men. They asked that they be heard at all hearings of codes which include discriminations.

Some of the industries now operating on unequal pay rates for men and women are silk and rayon, dyeing and printing, bedding, paint, varnish, mayonnaise and wheat flour milling. The automobile and salt manufacturing industries have also proposed to pay women lower wages than men.

"None of the codes propose that women be charged lower prices than men for beds, for rayon, for salt or for automobiles," was the caustic comment of members of the Party who have been attending the various hearings.

Earhart To Run Airline

The New York Times, August 6, 1933.

MISS AMELIA EARHART, transatlantic flyer, will enter the airline field again, it was learned here yesterday. She and Paul Collins, former vice-president in charge of operations of the Ludington Airlines, with which Miss Earhart also was connected, will operate a new service between Boston and Bangor, Maine, as a subsidiary of the Boston & Maine Railroad.

All Honor To Them!

The Houston Chronicle, Houston, Texas.

THERE are many heroes of the depression, but none deserving more praise than the school teachers of Chicago. They have kept the schools open every day during three years of delayed pay. They taught school through September, October, November, December, January, February, March and April of the past school year without a dollar in salary.

They kept things stable while thousands of respectable fathers of Chicago families stood in the breadlines day after day and month after month as the only means of feeding their children. For the most part these men stood quietly. But who can say whether the temptation to an outburst would not have been too great if they had seen their children at the same time being deprived of educational opportunity, of their chances in life?

Demand Square Deal for Women

The Washington Daily News, August 9, 1933.

ALARMED by half a dozen recovery agreements already in effect which establish different minimum wages for men and women workers, the National Woman's Party has begun a campaign for elimination of all such discrimination in permanent codes.

It asks in a letter just sent to Administrator Johnson, that no code be approved, hereafter, which does not specifically forbid discrimination on account of sex.

Maud Younger, chairman of the party's congressional committee, is appearing almost daily at code hearings presenting this same demand, and Anita Pollitzer, vice-chairman, has carried the fight to Dr. Leo Wolman, chairman of the Labor Advisory Board.

Temporary wage and hour agreements already put into effect by executive order name different minimum wages for men and women in the silk and rayon, dyeing and printing, beading, paint and varnish, mayonnaise and wheat flour milling industries.

Similar discriminations are provided in codes submitted by the automobile, corset and brassiere and salt manufacturing industries.

Benefits Traced To Women's Lobby

The New York Times, August 13, 1933.

MANY benefits have resulted from lobbying by American women in behalf of social welfare legislation, Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge writes in her "Women in the Twentieth Century" a monograph published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company under the auspices of the Research Committee on Social Trends. Dr. Breckinridge, who investigated the women's movement in this country for the committee, lists such lobbying as one of the notable political activities of American women.

"In general," writes Dr. Breckinridge, "the methods of women lobbyists have been above reproach. They have performed a genuine service in informing legislators and constituents alike.

"A few of them at Washington and in the States are celebrated for the skill with which they pilot legislation. They are experts in the subjects they advocate and familiar with legislative procedure; they know the human beings whose votes control their measures' destinies.

"To these leaders in women's organizations lobbying has brought some influence and rich rewards in the sense of achievement. For the majority of women who have participated it has provided an unrivaled school of political education.

"Thus far," continues the author, "no investigation of lobbying has disclosed the representatives of women's organizations failing in integrity or seeking selfish ends." She adds: "Almost without exception legislators accord them credit for honor and sincerity."

Dr. Breckinridge gives women's lobbying the credit for enactment of the maternity and infancy law, the nationality of women act, appropriations for the United States Children's Bureau, classification of civilian positions equalizing compensation as between the sexes, establishment of the United States Coal Commission and the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution.

Lobbying by women began with agitation against slavery a century ago, long before women obtained the ballot, Dr. Breckinridge points out.

"The cause of temperance followed," the author continues. "After 1865 the fight for equal suffrage with men was continuously advanced. In the nineties the reports of women's meetings show that a variety of social welfare measures were being advocated at State capitals and in council chambers. Ever since, and in increasing numbers, women have lobbied for causes they thought good."

Achievement of the vote in 1920, writes Dr. Breckinridge, crowned with success the lobbying of more than fifty years.

Of women's work for social progress, Dr. Breckinridge writes:

"Since the days of anti-slavery agitation women leaders with energy, devotion and intelligence have accepted lobbying as an inevitable responsibility in their zeal for the advancement of causes. In general, social welfare legislation has been their field, and throughout the country mothers' pension laws exist, child labor standards have been improved, educational opportunities have been advanced because of the activities of the women's lobby."

Dr. Breckinridge is Professor of Public Welfare Administration at the University of Chicago.

Advocates Protective Legislation For Women

The Baltimore Sun, July 7, 1933.

WASHINGTON, July 6 (A.P.) Before leaving on her second will-o'-the-wisp vacation trip from the White House, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt today took issue with the National Woman's Party Feminists who will hold a rally here Saturday in behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Mrs. Roosevelt also said in her press conference she favored ratification of the child labor amendment. She advocated protective legislation for women, rather than the elimination of legal distinctions for which Alice Paul and her followers plan to petition President Roosevelt.

"I think the National Woman's Party ignores the fact there is a fundamental difference between men and women," said Mrs. Roosevelt, adding that the group voiced the views of "a very limited high-type group of women who are able to defend themselves."

The President's wife added, however, she was in complete sympathy with many of the things for which the National Woman's Party stands, such as the principle of the same pay for the same work, be the worker woman or man; and the right of a married woman to a job.

Feminist Notes

"Margaret Brent—Gentleman"

IN a recent number of *Thought*, a quarterly devoted to a discussion of the sciences and letters, appears a biographical sketch of Margaret Brent by Eudora Ramsay Richardson, which should be of special interest to every Feminist.

Margaret Brent of England, Maryland and Virginia was an extraordinary woman. She has been described as the first American suffragist and also the first business woman produced by this country. She was moreover an attorney, and not in name only. Time and time again, according to records in the archives of Maryland, she appeared in court where she gave as creditable an account of herself as any man barrister of her time. The most dramatic incident of her life was her appearance before the Colonial Assembly of Maryland, where she demanded a "voice" both in her own right and as Lord Baltimore's attorney.

In addition to her law practice, Mistress Brent directed the affairs of large estates, was the standby, advisor and confidant of Governor Leonard Calvert, and later also functioned as attorney for Cecilius Calvert, Lord Proprietary of Maryland. Cecilius Calvert (Lord Baltimore) however, never appreciated her splendid services in his own behalf and of the colonists, and because of his criticisms she spent the last years of her life in Virginia, where she died.

The appellation "Gentleman" was one she gave herself.

It is interesting to note that the writer of the biography, Mrs. Richardson, is herself a Feminist. She is a field representative of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Association, and has been active in the National Woman's Party. She was a member of the group of Richmond women, composed of members of the Business and Professional Women's Association of Richmond and of the Virginia Branch of the National Woman's Party, whose protests in the spring resulted in the reconsideration by the C. & O. Railroad of the railroad's contemplated dismissal of its married women employees.

In her biography of Margaret Brent, Mrs. Richardson gives evidence of scholarly and painstaking research. She paints a vivid and absorbing picture of one of the most sterling characters in colonial history. It is understood that the magazine sketch is to be expanded into a volume the material for which Mrs. Richardson has culled from original sources in Maryland and Virginia records, and which is to be published in time for the Marylanl Tercentenary celebration next year.

Mrs. Richardson has achieved an enviable reputation as a writer. She is a contributor to leading magazines and is the author of "'Little Aleck,' a Life of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy," which has been recognized as a "sound biography which will stand the test of time." Her home is in Westover Hills, Richmond.

DAY PRINTING COMPANY
PUBLICATIONS AND BOOKS
600 East Lombard Street
Baltimore, Md.